

Message Text

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 02827 241932Z

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-11 ISO-00 SAM-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAJ-01 /072 W
----- 112273

R 241625Z FEB 76
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 374
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LENINGRAD
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
CINCLANT

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CINCLANT FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, UR, SP
SUBJECT: PRAVDA HARSH ON SPAIN

REF: MOSCOW 1915

1. SUMMARY. A PRAVDA ARTICLE FEBRUARY 21 SUBJECTS THE
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PAGE 02 MOSCOW 02827 241932Z

NEW SPANISH GOVERNMENT TO THE HARSHTEST CRITICISM WE
HAVE SEEN, AND INTIMATES THAT THE REGIME CANNOT LAST

IN ITS PRESENT FORM. AT THE SAME TIME, THE ARTICLE PLAYS UP THE ROLE OF THE SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY AND BEWAILS ITS SUPPRESSION, AT A TIME WHEN PARTY SECRETARY SANTIAGO CARRILLO'S ABSENCE FROM THE CPSU PARTY CONGRESS MUST HAVE BEEN FORESEEN. IT WOULD APPEAR TO US THAT STATEMENTS OF THIS NATURE INDICATE THAT SOVIET RECOGNITION OF SPAIN MAY YET BE A WAY DOWN THE ROAD. END SUMMARY.

2. THE ARTICLE, BY PRAVDA CORRESPONDENT E. GRIGOR'YEV, IS DATED "MADRID-MOSCOW," INDICATING THAT GRIGOR'YEV WROTE IT FROM INFORMATION RECEIVED IN MADRID, BUT ALSO ON THE BASIS OF GUIDANCE RECEIVED IN MOSCOW.

3. GRIGOR'YEV STATES FLATLY THAT THE "MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE" REJECT THE NEW REGIME, WHICH STILL MUST REPLY ON THE HIGH-RANKING OFFICERS IN THE ARMY AND ON THE POLICE FOR ITS SURVIVAL. THIS "REPRESSIVE APPARATUS," ACCORDING TO GRIGOR'YEV, "DEMONSTRATES ITS AUTHORITY BY USE OF NIGHT STICKS." SUCH REPRESSION IS ALSO LEGAL, HE SAYS, SINCE "ELEMENTARY RIGHTS ACCEPTED IN ANY OTHER CONTEMPORARY BOURGEOIS STATES ARE ABSENT." GRIGOR'YEV SAYS THAT LOCAL OBSERVERS HAVE CONCLUDED THAT THE DEATH OF FRANCO "HAS NOT CHANGED THE ESSENCE OF THE REGIME." BUT THESE OBSERVERS ADD, HE CONTINUES, THAT "MUCH HAS COME INTO MOVEMENT."

4. GRIGOR'YEV DESCRIBES THE "UNIQUE" SITUATION IN WHICH SPAIN'S "ILLEGAL PARTIES" OPERATE IN THE OPEN, IN FULL VIEW OF AUTHORITIES, AND DECIDES THAT IT IS "OBVIOUS THAT THE REGIME CAN NO LONGER RELY ENTIRELY ON THE OLD CONSTITUTION." HE CONTINUES THAT THE WORKING CLASS IS NOW THE DRIVING FORCE IN THE MOVEMENT TOWARD DEMOCRACY, AND THAT THE SPEED WITH WHICH DEMOCRATIZATION CONTINUES WILL DEPEND ON THE DEGREE TO WHICH IT IS ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE IN POLITICAL LIFE. BUT HE QUOTES THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT PARTY LEADER RUIZ JIMENEZ THAT THE PEOPLE WILL ALLOW NO BACK-SLIDING, NO RETURN TO THE OLD SYSTEM. AND HE QUOTES "A HIGH-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 02827 241932Z

RANKING BUREAUCRAT" WHO PREFERRED TO REMAIN ANONYMOUS THAT "DEMOCRATIZATION IS UNAVOIDABLE. IT WILL MOVE FASTER THAN THE GOVERNMENT IS PLANNING...THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT WILL NOT LAST LONG. NEW FORCES WILL COME, AND IN THE NEAR FUTURE."

5. A MAIN THREAD RUNNING THROUGH THE ARTICLE IS THE PRESENT UNEQUAL STATUS OF THE SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY --THE REFUSAL OF THE REGIME TO ALLOW IT TO OPERATE ON THE SAME OPEN BASIS AS THE OTHER PUTATIVELY "ILLEGAL"

PARTIES, AS EVIDENT FROM ARRESTS OF LEADING COMMUNIST FIGURES--AND AT THE SAME TIME ITS DECIDING ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIZATION AS "ONE OF THE LARGEST AND MOST ORGANIZED CONSTITUENT PARTS" IN THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT. THE REGIME, GRIGOR'YEV CONTENDS, "FEARS ITS INFLUENCE AMONG THE PEOPLE.

6. COMMENT. THOUGH GRIGOR'YEV DOES NOT CONDEMN THE REGIME OUTRIGHT, HIS DESCRIPTION OF ITS ACTIVITIES--AND COMMENTS ON ITS PROBABLE LONGEVITY--ARE THE HARSHTEST WE HAVE SEEN IN THE SOVIET MEDIA. WHILE IT MAY BE AS OUR SPANISH SOURCE IN MOSCOW TOLD US THAT NO REMAINING QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLE STAND IN THE WAY OF SOVIET RECOGNITION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT (REFTEL), IT WOULD APPEAR TO US THAT STATEMENTS SUCH AS GRIGOR'YEV'S INDICATE THAT SUCH RECOGNITION IS NOT IMMINENT. IT LOOKS TO US AS IF MOSCOW HAS DECIDED TO HEDGE ITS BET ON THE REGIME TO SEE HOW THE PRODUCT OF ITS OWN STABLE--THE PCE--DOES IN THE NEXT FEW CONTESTS.

7. IN ADDITION, THE CPSU MUST STILL HOPE TO MODERATE PCE BEHAVIOR IN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE PREPARATIONS. TO SOME EXTENT PRAVDA'S RINGING SUPPORT OF SPANISH COMMUNISTS MAY ALSO BE AN ATTEMPT TO EVOKE A FAVORABLE ECHO AT A MOMENT THE SOVIETS MUST HAVE KNOWN SECRETARY GENERAL SANTIAGO CARRILLO PLANNED TO BE ABSENT FROM THEIR PARTY CONGRESS, AND KNEW FOR SURE THAT BREZHNEV WAS PLANNING A THINLY VEILED ATTACK ON HIM FOR HIS STATEMENT THAT PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM IS OUT OF DATE.

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PAGE 04 MOSCOW 02827 241932Z

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: RECOGNITION, PRESS COMMENTS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 FEB 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: morefirh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976MOSCOW02827
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760070-0611
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760220/aaaaaqon.tel
Line Count: 151
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 MOSCOW 1915
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: morefirh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <15 APR 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <06 JUL 2004 by morefirh>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRAVDA HARSH ON SPAIN
TAGS: PFOR, UR, SP, NATO, PRAVDA
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006